

HYMETTIANA I

(PLATES 69–76)

THESE NOTES commence a projected series of reports on findings made by the undersigned during recent explorations on Mount Hymettos.¹ Subsequent reports will be issued as new finds merit, in order to provide others with the opportunity of visiting some heretofore unreported antiquities close to Athens before they fall victim to the city's expansion or other forms of destruction. It is the western side of the mountain, that facing Athens and its southern suburbs, which understandably has undergone the greatest changes in recent years, and so explorations and findings for the present report have been confined to that slope. Plate 69, a detail of Sheet IV of E. Curtius and J. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, is provided for the reader's convenience. The map was made between 1875 and 1878 and shows the places discussed in this report.

HOROION FUCHSBERG

The prominent, rather bare hill of Fuchsberg has recently given us four rupestral *horoi* of Roman date which have been published by Josiah Ober.² A fifth boundary marker cut into the rock of the hill may now be added. It is located 30 paces west and slightly north of Ober's *horos* no. 3, on a rounded surface of rock (Pl. 70:a). The letters are rather faint owing to weathering, but it appears certain that the inscription is complete in one word: ΟΡΟΣ (Pl. 70:b). The omicrons are 0.11 m. in diameter, the rho and four-barred sigma 0.13 m. and 0.12 m. high respectively. The strokes are shallow and about 0.02 m. wide. The orientation of the line is almost due north–south, reading from the north. A 4th-century B.C. date is suggested by the lettering.

Repeated visits to Fuchsberg and searches for other *horoi* proved fruitless. We have no idea of the configuration of the plot marked by the new *horos* and its now destroyed or as yet undiscovered companions.³ Because they are a good deal later, the Roman *horoi*, which mark out an area on the southeast side of the hill, should not be used as a model. The function of the earlier and later *horoi* was not necessarily the same. Both sets defined areas of land, but the use to which land on Fuchsberg was put could have changed between the Classical and Roman eras.

Reflecting on the unsuitability of this hill to support arable agriculture or grazing, Ober

¹ Autumn, 1983. Financial support for travel to Greece was supplied by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

² "Rock-cut Inscriptions from Mt. Hymettos," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 (pp. 68–77), pp. 73–77. In his discussion Ober uses the Greek name of the hill, Alepovouni. I retain the German translation used in the *Karten von Attika*.

³ Destruction rather than oversight is, I fear, the more likely reason for the absence of other *horoi* of the earlier set. Ober's map (*op. cit.*, p. 75) shows the nearness of a large recent quarry. Since Ober's explorations bulldozers have been at work on the hill. Roman *horoi* nos. 1 and 3 have barely escaped their blades, whereas no. 2 may have succumbed. At least I could not find it. A bulldozed swath passes right along where it should be. Between the quarry and the 'dozers other *horoi* from the earlier series could have perished.

makes the interesting suggestion that the Roman *horoi* served to define an apiary. In support of this he cites the fact that Mt. Hymmettos was a renowned honey-producing area in antiquity and that the plot of ground marked by the four *horoi* is in a situation recommended for bee farms in ancient treatises on beekeeping, *viz.* the southern side of a hill. One consideration tells against an apiary here, however, and it is, in my opinion, strong enough to invalidate the hypothesis even though it is based on negative evidence: there is a complete absence from Fuchsberg of any combed sherds from the distinctive clay beehives used by the ancient Greeks.

Ober tries to explain away the absence of beehive sherds by arguing that the hives may have been placed at the southern base of the hill where the Vyron cemetery now conveniently hides the evidence. Were this so, we might reasonably expect the *horoi* to be at the base of the hill too, rather than at a remove on the ridge. Ober believes that the lack of evidence of hives could also be accounted for if the hives were of wood or some other perishable material. He cites an opinion of Columella (*de re rustica* IX.6.1–2) that clay is the worst material for beehives because it ill affords protection for bees from heat and cold. Despite this advice from a Spaniard who learned about beekeeping in central Italy, we should not be so quick to overlook the archaeological evidence from Attica. In a fine study of the material remains J. E. Jones, A. J. Graham, and L. H. Sackett⁴ document the common use of clay beehives in Attica from the 5th century B.C. to at least the 1st century after Christ.⁵ In a further study Jones publishes informative evidence for the continued use of clay hives in Greece up to the present time.⁶ Modern examples are built into walls or provided with shelters, thus offsetting the extremes of heat and cold to which Columella complains that clay beehives were prone. Ancient clay hives could have been protected in similar fashion, and so Columella's strictures on the use of that medium are easily obviated. We should, therefore, expect an ancient Attic bee farm, whatever the era in which it operated, to yield some fragments of clay beehives. Their absence from Fuchsberg excludes this hill as the site of such an establishment and forces us to look for other explanations for the Roman *horoi*.

⁴ "An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari," *BSA* 68, 1973 (pp. 355–452), pp. 397–414. Ober is aware of and cites this study, but he seems not to have realized the implications of the evidence presented in it for the use of clay beehives in Attica throughout Graeco-Roman antiquity. In two appendices to the *BSA* study, M. I. Geroulanos (pp. 443–448) and Jones (pp. 448–452) publish further examples of clay hives from Attica. It is unfortunate that the single mention of beehives in the Attic Stelai, *IG* I³, 426, line 56 (= Stele VI), does not provide epigraphic corroboration of the *BSA* authors' proof that Attic beehives were of clay. The confiscated goods tend to be listed by material: clay, wood, cloth, etc., but the list in Stele VI where beehives occur is too short to demonstrate conclusively that the confiscated hives were of clay. W. K. Pritchett ("The Attic Stelai," *Hesperia* 25, 1956 [pp. 178–317], p. 260) thought of wicker, but he wrote before the combed sherds were recognized as belonging to beehives.

⁵ Although no evidence exists from Attica, it is possible that the use of cylindrical clay beehives in Greece may go back to the Bronze Age: cf. C. Doumas, «'Ανασκαφή Θήρας», *Πρακτικά*, 1976, Β' [1979] (pp. 309–329), pp. 310 and 311, fig. 1; *idem*, *Thera, Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean*, London 1983, p. 119, fig. 19.

⁶ "Hives and Honey of Hymettus," *Archaeology* 29, 1976, pp. 80–91. The use of clay beehives is not confined to ancient and contemporary Greece or the Mediterranean but is worldwide. See the entries in the index of E. Crane, *The Archaeology of Beekeeping*, London 1983, p. 356, *s.v.* hives, by material: clay.

Hans Lauter has suggested⁷ that the *horoi* on Fuchsberg might mark a deme boundary or an especially critical section of deme land. This suggestion is merely a note appended to an article already in press when Ober's appeared, and so we must await a future date for the full presentation of Lauter's arguments. In the meantime I argue elsewhere⁸ that deme boundaries followed natural features of the landscape. If this is so, then the *horoi* on Fuchsberg are not likely to be part of a deme boundary because they delimit an area with at least one right angle. I do not envision deme boundaries being so regular.

If the *horoi* on Fuchsberg did not mark out a plot of land for a bee farm or serve to establish the boundary between two demes, we could perhaps look profitably to a more dominant authority, the state, for clues about their function. In this context Gerald Culley has suggested⁹ that the Fuchsberg *horoi* delimit one of the ὄρη δημόσια of Attica. The basis for believing this a possibility is contained within the inscription *IG* II², 1035, recently restudied by Culley.¹⁰ He argues convincingly that the decree sets aside certain public mountains as free access areas for all. The occurrence of the phrase ὄρος τὸ πρὸς Ἰμμητῶν in line 58, apparently included in the reserved lands, reveals where some of these public areas were located. The temptation to link this information to the *horoi* on Fuchsberg is practically irresistible. The *horoi* would thus have been cut into the rock of Fuchsberg as a result of the passage of the decree that specified which public lands were to be leased and which reserved. They section off that part of the hill which was to be a public preserve. Culley does not make the association of *horoi* and decree quite so close, since he does not believe that they are of the same date. But the date of both is fluid. If the *horoi* belong to Roman times, I see no reason why they cannot be contemporary with the decree.¹¹

If the four *horoi* on Fuchsberg are to be associated with *IG* II², 1035, then they are public inscriptions. Ober believes instead that they and other examples of the single word ὄρος were markers of private property.¹² There is really no way of telling decisively, when faced with such laconic markers, to which domain any of them belongs. Those which marked boundaries of private land would serve their function through some locally recognized agreement, while boundary markers established by the state could be identified as such by passers-by through knowledge of the act that led to them being inscribed. Thus, a visitor to Fuchsberg in the early Roman era would not mistake the intent of the prominent *horoi* which marked out a public plot. Similarly, a visitor in the Classical period would immediately know the purpose of the earlier *horos* (and its companions) if it served some

⁷ "Zwei Horos-Inschriften bei Vari," *AA* (*JdI* 97), 1982 (pp. 299–315), p. 314.

⁸ "The Territorial Basis of the Attic Demes," *SymbOslo* 60, 1985, pp. 5–15.

⁹ "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica, II," *Hesperia* 46, 1977 (pp. 282–298), p. 290, note 27.

¹⁰ "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *IG.*, II², 1035," *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 207–223.

¹¹ The date of *IG* II², 1035 is by no means fixed. Culley (*op. cit.*, pp. 217–223) makes a case for the late 1st century B.C. T. L. Shear, Jr. ("Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 [pp. 356–377], pp. 366–367) argues for the reign of Claudius. Most recently, J. von Freeden (ΟΙΚΙΑ ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΟΥ. *Studien zum sogenannten Turm der Winde in Athen*, Rome 1983, pp. 157–174) proposes to place it between 74/3 and 65/4 B.C. Many other dates have been proposed in the past, for which see Culley.

¹² Certainty attaches to only one rupestrial *horos* on Hymettos, *IG* II², 2525, and that only because it is qualified by a personal name.

state function. If it were a private *horos*, on the other hand, and our visitor were not a local, then he would be as much in the dark as we are about its *raison d'être*.

HOROION HILL 337.4

BOUNDARY OF A CONDUIT

The western slope of Mt. Hymettos provides a generous watershed for the Athenian plain. Numerous torrents riddle the slope, directing their runoff water to all parts of the plain. Those to the north, around Kaisariani monastery and north of it, form the Ilissos River, while those in the southern part, from the nunnery of Kareas southward, coalesce in various fashion to issue into the Saronic Gulf between Phaleron and Ayios Kosmas. The ancient Athenians took advantage of this watershed by constructing underground aqueducts to siphon water from some of the torrents or to tap springs fed by them. Other settlements in the plain manipulated the runoff by means of built watercourses. Little of this hydraulic activity remains to be seen today.¹³ To what there is, three rupestral inscriptions defining the boundary of a conduit may now be added.

The location of the new rupestralia is Hill 337.4, several hundred meters west of Kareas nunnery. The inscriptions are cut at intervals on bedrock just southeast of the survey marker which crowns the top of the hill. The best preserved is the middle one of the three. It is complete, cut on a sloping rock surface that barely protrudes above the ground (Pl. 70:c). The inscription reads from north to south (Pl. 70:d):

ΟΡΟΣ
ΔΙΑΝΟ

Line 1 is 0.285 m., line 2, 0.35 m. long. The omicrons are between 0.035 m. and 0.045 m. in diameter. The other letters are 0.05–0.06 m. high. The letter strokes were made by boring or punching rows of small holes, then connecting them. The delta and nu reveal the method clearly. All the letters are cut by a sure, neat hand, the only irregularity being the alpha with diagonal strokes of different lengths and slant and a slightly bent crossbar. The impression from the lettering is that the inscription was cut in the 4th century B.C.

The second inscription is north 30° west of the first one and 13.40 m. distant from it. It is cut on the almost vertical face of a piece of bedrock that protrudes from the ground (Pl. 71:a). The two lines read from west to east repeating the wording of the previous inscription (Pl. 71:b). Line 1 is 0.21 m., line 2, 0.35 m. long. The letters were made in the

¹³ The remains of aqueducts from Hymettos to Athens were already exiguous in the 19th and early 20th centuries: E. Ziller, "Untersuchungen über die antiken Wasserleitungen Athens," *AthMitt* 2, 1877 (pp. 107–131), p. 110; F. Gräber, "Die Enneakrunos," *AthMitt* 30, 1905 (pp. 1–64), pp. 56–62. South of Athens there have recently come to light at Trachones, ancient Euonymon, the remains of ancient walling associated with a torrent coming from Hymettos: cf. J. Geroulanos in *Wasser im antiken Hellas (Mitteilungen aus dem Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig LXXI)*, Braunschweig 1981, pp. 11–15. A summary discussion of the aqueducts of Attica may be found in M. Petropoulakou and E. Pentazos, *Ἀρχαῖες ἐλληνικὲς πόλεις*, XXI, Ἀττικὴ, Οἰκιστικὰ στοιχεῖα—πρώτη ἔκθεσις, Athens 1973, Addition 4. Figure 10 of this volume is a map of Attica showing the major Greek and Roman aqueducts based on previously reported remains.

same way and are generally the same height as those of the previous inscription except that the omicrons are slightly larger in diameter and all letter strokes are broader and shallower. The initial two letters of ΟΡΟΣ have been partially obliterated by a sizable chip which fortuitously resembles a stele cutting.

The third inscription is 19 meters slightly south of due east of the first one and is placed at one end of an independent outcrop of rock (Pl. 71:c). Only the first three letters of ΟΡΟΣ are preserved (Pl. 71:d). Otherwise the surface of the rock is too weathered to permit any but the most uncertain of readings. Because it is at the same level as the other two inscriptions, I assume that this one belongs with them and originally had the same two-line text. Here the omicrons are oval, 0.07–0.08 m. high, while the rho is 0.10 m. high. The letter strokes have been gouged out with a chisel. They are quite broad, 0.015 m. compared to 0.007–0.008 m. for the strokes of the second inscription. The third inscription is so oriented as to read from west to east.

Of the three inscriptions only the second one is in enough of a clearing to allow compass bearings to be taken from it. Standing at the inscription, the survey marker atop Hill 337.4 sights 20° west of north, and the prominent rock knob above Kareas, which shows on Sheet IV of the *Karten von Attika* as the curved end of an irregular V pointing towards Athens, sights due east. Plate 72:a, looking south from Fuchsberg, shows in the upper center of the photograph the ridge with both features, the knob to the left with the line of a new forest road passing just beneath it and the hump of Hill 337.4 to the right of center.

Credit goes to Eugene Vanderpool for solving the riddle of the second line which gives the correct explanation of the inscriptions. They define the boundary of a conduit. ΔΙΑΝΟ is an abbreviation, a common feature of boundary inscriptions. We thus read ὄρος διανό-(μον). The word διάνομος, “conduit”, occurs only two other times.¹⁴ It denominates a conduit which runs above ground and is open to the sky. It is the counterpart of ὑπόνομος, a covered, subterranean conduit.¹⁵ The two words are well discussed by E. Laroche (*Histoire de la racine NEM- en grec ancien*, Paris 1949, p. 133).

Hill 337.4 has undergone great changes since antiquity. It is therefore little wonder that no traces of a conduit, in the form of either a channel cut in exposed bedrock or worked blocks of a built watercourse, are visible. The first and second inscriptions lie in the midst of rubble from modern quarries just above them.¹⁶ Debris from a recently bulldozed service

¹⁴ See LSJ, *s.v.* One occurrence is in Stele VI of the Attic Stelai, 414/3 B.C.: *IG I³*, 426, line 95; cf. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (footnote 4 above), p. 267. The other is in an inscription from Argos of the Roman period: W. Vollgraff, “Inscriptions d’Argos,” *BCH* 33, 1909 (pp. 445–466), pp. 461–466, no. 26. Unfortunately the text is very fragmentary in both places where the word occurs, and so nothing more can be learned about a διάνομος from them.

¹⁵ Another expression for an aboveground conduit is μετέωρος ὄχετος, discussed by R. Martin (“Sur deux expressions techniques de l’architecture grecque,” *RevPhil*, ser. 3, 31, 1957 [pp. 66–81], pp. 66–72). Martin argues that this refers to a conduit open to the sky, an opinion already maintained by Dittenberger half a century earlier: cf. G. Daux, “Notes de lecture,” *BCH* 81, 1957 (pp. 390–395), pp. 392–393. This opinion has recently been challenged by G. Argoud in *Journées d’études sur les aqueducs romains, Lyon (26–28 Mai 1977)*, Paris 1983, pp. 7–9. If Argoud is correct that μετέωρος ὄχετος is a covered conduit on the surface, this would strengthen Laroche’s conclusion that a διάνομος is an uncovered conduit.

¹⁶ The quarries predate 1875–78 because they are marked on the map in the *Karten von Attika*, but they are

road that passes within 50 meters of the inscriptions litters the area. Finally, a forest of pines has laid a cover of pine needles, quite thick in places, over the hillside. Plate 72:b shows the hill from above to the south. The bare flank of Fuchsberg is in the background. An arrow indicates the area where the conduit inscriptions are located. Bordering the hill to the south is a deep gully that extends several hundred meters eastward into the mountain-side. This gully could have fed the conduit, yet since it is strictly a runoff torrent, it may be that a spring near to it supplied the water. In the place where the inscriptions give us evidence for it the conduit would have run fairly high above the floor of the gully. This circumstance favors a spring source, else the conduit would have more sensibly begun lower down and further west, near the debouching point of the gully. As with the conduit itself no trace of a spring exists today in the environs of the hill. This is not surprising, since in the intervening millenia the subterranean veins of water which supplied a possible spring here are apt to have changed their course in this greatly fissured mountain.

While something may be surmised as to the conduit's source, its destination remains a question mark. Judging from the position of the westernmost inscription in relation to the other two, it appears that the conduit was turning northwestward to curve around the west side of the hill. Its direction would then be toward Athens. There are good reasons, however, for not believing that the conduit was built to help supply the city. The intervening range of hills between Hill 337.4 and Athens could easily be gotten around, but the effort and expense seem large for the return, an unimpressive amount of water from a small spring. More fatal to the idea of an urban terminus is the fact that the conduit is a *διάνομος* not a *ὑπόνομος*. Subterranean conduits were the rule for conducting water into the city from outside water sources.¹⁷ Open conduits at the surface would be more prone to pollution and damage, especially over long distances. The conduit on Hill 337.4 was probably short and served some local function; therefore the risks of running water through an open channel at the surface were not considered high.

We do not know whether the conduit was a private or demotic undertaking, whether it provisioned a rural fountain house or cistern or a deme center. The existence of boundary inscriptions suggests that the water was not intended for the use of landowners through whose land the conduit passed but was reserved for some other purpose. Normally individuals could use the water which originated in or passed through their land as they wished.¹⁸ Here, however, the inscriptions define a zone upon which landowners could not encroach and from which they apparently could not freely draw water. In this context the boundary markers of the Acharnian aqueduct come to mind,¹⁹ and it is tempting to use them as an

not ancient: many traces of drill holes for explosive charges may be seen on the remaining rock faces but no traces of ancient tool marks.

¹⁷ See the evidence presented by Ziller and Gräber in footnote 13 above. Underground conduits were the rule for the rest of Greece as well: cf. H. Kienast in *Wasser im antiken Hellas* (footnote 13 above), pp. 48–55.

¹⁸ On water rights in ancient Greece see R. Koerner, "Zu Recht und Verwaltung der griechischen wasserversorgung nach den Inschriften," *ArchP* 23, 1974 (pp. 155–202), pp. 155–189; M. Wörrle in *Wasser im antiken Hellas* (footnote 13 above), pp. 75–85. I find Koerner's discussion the more lucid account.

¹⁹ For texts and full discussion see E. Vanderpool in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἄ. Ὀρλάνδον*, A', Athens 1965, pp. 166–174. Vanderpool's study convinces me that this aqueduct supplied Athens. Wörrle (*op. cit.*, p. 84) is not convinced.

analogy to explain the *horoi* on Hymettos: landowners yielding water rights to a corporation which was commissioned to create a system for collecting water and supplying it to a community, Athens in the case of the Acharnian system, a local deme center in the case of the Hymettian one. The extreme brevity of the Hymettos *horoi* compared with those marking the Acharnian aqueduct makes this idea very speculative. The Hymettos conduit could have had a much simpler purpose.

OTHER REMAINS ON HILL 337.4

There is a fourth rupestral boundary inscription on Hill 337.4, unrelated to the three just discussed. It is located on a sloping shelf of bedrock on the western side of the hill at a somewhat lower level than the boundary markers of the conduit. Just below the shelf is a large modern quarry that is not indicated on the map. Three letters are preserved (Pl. 72:c): HOP. These may have been the only letters originally cut, or the second omicron and the sigma may have been obliterated by weathering. The state of preservation does not allow a determination on this point. The rho is 0.10 m. high, the omicron 0.08 m. in diameter. The letter strokes, cut with a chisel, are 0.015–0.02 m. wide. Part of this generous width seems to be enlargement caused by weathering. The three letters occupy a space of 0.30 m. and read from east to west. The presence of the *daseia* indicates a 5th-century date.

The inscription remains, at least for the time being, a singleton. Although plentiful amounts of bedrock shelve out all around the inscription and for some distance from it except to the quarry-ridden west, I was unable to spot any companions for it. Until other related *horoi* are found we have no way of knowing whether this *horos* helped to define a plot of land or belonged with a conduit earlier than the one just discussed.

To complete the discussion of ancient remains on Hill 337.4 brief mention should be made of some ancient quarries located several hundred meters southeast of the boundary inscriptions of the conduit. The quarries are a series of workings in rock cliffs on the north side and well above the bottom of the gully. Several vertical scarps resulting from the removal of blocks are to be seen, and one incompletely cut block, 1.70 × 1.10 × 0.22 m., remains partially hewn out of a sloping outcrop of rock (Pl. 72:d). The crack in the block visible in the photograph runs through its entire length and thickness. It must have occurred while the quarrying was being done and rendered further work unprofitable. Tool marks show that other blocks were successfully removed from the rock around it.

FOOT NOTES

A. For about a kilometer and a half south of Hill 337.4 the mountain and the city coexist peaceably, maintaining a *modus vivendi* in which the entire plain up to about the 200-meter contour level is given up to the city for apartment buildings and everything above that to the mountain for the burgeoning national forest of Hymettos. For the next half kilometer the city has recently made an advance well above the 300-meter contour before withdrawing back to the lower level further southward. This advance is the new suburb of Ano Elioupolis, most of whose apartment buildings are still in the process of construction or have only just been completed. The suburb and the mountain have for now reached a standoff and just

in time, for any further advance eastward by the city would engulf some unrecorded rupes-tral inscriptions on Hill 411.2. This hill is 1.8 kilometers southeast of Kara (modern Eliou-polis), on the map directly opposite a lime kiln labeled “Kalk O.”. The numerals marking the elevation are hard to read owing to an overabundant use of hachures. Extending west-ward from the top of the hill is a ridge which slopes downward to the west (Pl. 73:a). The nature of the ridge is such that horizontal expanses of exposed bedrock form steplike ter-races, especially on its upper part where the soil and vegetational cover are less thick than lower down. The largest expanse is on the south side. It measures eight to nine meters north–south and fourteen meters east–west (Pl. 73:b; marked with an arrow on Plate 73:a). Carved into it are at least fifteen pair of outlines of the feet (*plantae pedis*) of children, adults, and a giant.

Figure 1 is a summary drawing in which only some of the outlines are shown. Those at the lower edge of the drawing must be placed 16 centimeters (= 4 meters) below where they are shown in order to bring them into proper relationship to the other carvings. There are at least five pair, and the single outlines may originally have been paired with now lost com-panions. Being an irregularly flat surface this area of bedrock collects and holds water easily. The result is a degree of erosion which could well have obliterated some outlines.

Obliteration has occurred in the case of two inscriptions engraved in the rock apparen-tly to accompany two of the pairs of outlines. The better preserved inscription clearly shows ΠΙΣΤΡ, part of a personal name (Pl. 73:c). I cannot make out any letters before or after these. The foot outline with which the inscribed name seems to go may originally have been part of a pair, but weathering has so ruined the original surface here that no trace of the other outline now remains. Just below the outline and the name is what I take to be the depiction of male genitals. The second inscription, at the southern edge of the rock, is defin-ately placed in association with a pair of foot outlines. Only one letter is clear, an omicron between the outlines (Pl. 73:d). There are other letters to the left, but I refrain from record-ing any subjective readings because even with prompting I could not convince John Camp, to whom I showed the site, of the letters I wished to read. From left to right there appear to be two circular letters, then one or two more letters, the left foot outline, the certain omicron, and finally the right foot outline. It does not look as though any letters were ever inscribed further to the right. I assume that the inscription was a proper name in the genitive case.

The better preserved name fragment has a three-barred sigma, but this could just as well be the result of simplification in the cutting of letters in an informal inscription as a reflection of a certain time period. “Classical period” is all that can be said about its date. The omicron of the other fragment, if it is the genitive ending of a masculine name, permits the same broad generalization of date. For the meaning of these *plantae pedis* see Foot Note C below.

B. The single word ΟΡΟΣ is cut on bedrock at the top of the same ridge of Hill 411.2 (Pl. 74:a). On the map the position of the *horos* is in the space between the third and fourth contour lines west of the peak. The first three letters occupy a space of 0.23 m. The omicrons are 0.06 m. in diameter, the rho 0.11 m. high. Except for the uppermost stroke and the start

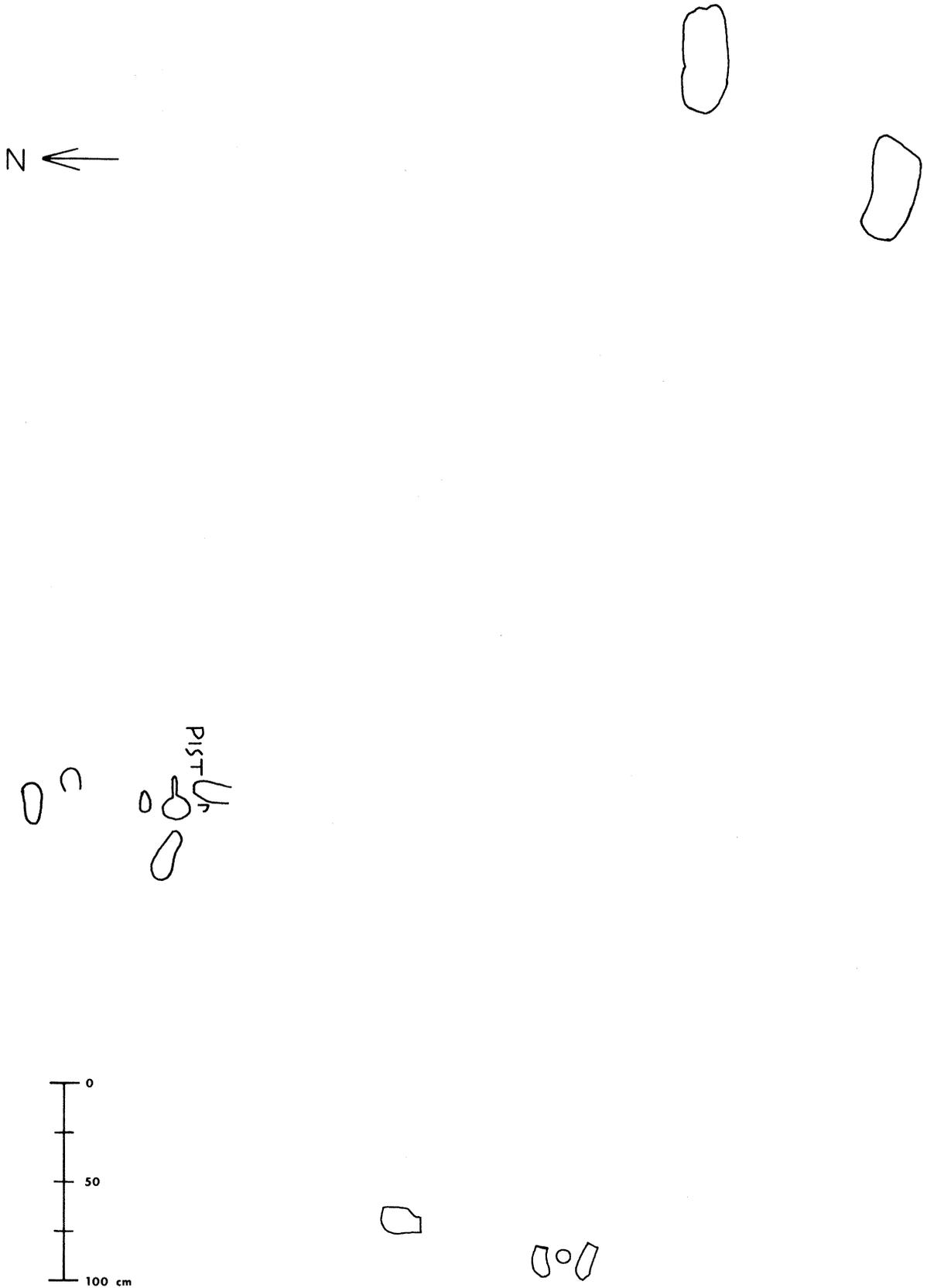


FIG. 1. *Plantae pedis* and inscriptions on Hill 411.2

of a return, the apparently four-barred sigma has recently been chipped away by the felling upon it of the trunk of a pine tree charred in a fire. The strokes of all the letters are broad and shallow, and I might not have seen the inscription had not the tree trunk blackened the remaining letters. The inscription reads from west to east. There are plenty of bedrock terraces in line upslope to the east and downslope to the west of the *horos*, but I could find no other *termini* on them. As the rock of these terraces splits and breaks off quite readily, I suspect that companions of the *horos* have been destroyed by natural degradation of the ridge.

Cut into the rock eight paces southwest of the *horos* is the outline of a right foot pointed west (Pl. 74:b). It is 0.28 m. long by 0.12 m. wide at the widest point. There are five strokes to indicate the toes. There appears to be a left foot outline, 0.24 × 0.10 m., very faintly preserved and with no indication of toes. For what it is worth it may be noted that the word *πόυς* occurs once in a literary context in which it means “boundary stone”.²⁰ But whether or not the new *horos* on Hill 411.2 and the foot outlines near it served the same function cannot be determined without more evidence. There are at least three other single foot outlines on the hill, but they are at random places on the south slope of the ridge and form no line.

C. South of Ano Elioupolis the lower slope of Hymettos is fairly denuded and lacking in interest (Pl. 74:c, looking east from the athletic field of Argyroupolis; apartment buildings of Ano Elioupolis and the ridge of Hill 411.2 appear at the left beyond the high-voltage lines). Bedrock is exposed in many places, but only one spot yielded any rupestral inscriptions, the area around the chapel of Ayia Eirene above Argyroupolis. The chapel is seen to the right in Plate 74:c. It is completely modern and so does not show on the map in the *Karten von Attika*. It is located at about the 200-meter contour level on the south side of the southernmost of the two narrow gullies that run diagonally on the lower slope of the mountain from northeast to southwest opposite Trachones. Around 200 meters southeast of the chapel, in among other outcrops, one patch of bedrock contains several inscriptions and doodles (Fig. 2).

Most prominent are the well-cut letters of *Δεινίας καλός* (Pl. 75:a). Acclamatory inscriptions of this type are most common as dipinti and graffiti on vases, but monumental *kalos* inscriptions were probably more common than the evidence suggests; at least more are constantly turning up all over Greece.²¹ From Attica rupestral examples closest to ours are *SEG XXI*, 214, on a hill near Paiania, and *SEG XXIX*, 54, on Hymettos at Ano Voula.

²⁰ Fragment of Isaios cited in LSJ, *s.v.* *πόυς* V. The fragment is no. 27 in the Teubner edition, no. 29 in the Loeb. I am grateful to D. R. Jordan for bringing this citation to my attention.

²¹ I cite only the most recent examples. Several *kalos* inscriptions are scratched on blocks of the tunnel of the stadium at Nemea: cf. Stephen G. Miller, “Excavations at Nemea, 1978,” *Hesperia* 48, 1979 (pp. 73–103), pp. 100–101. Among the 58 rupestral inscriptions at Kalami on Thasos several are *kalos* inscriptions: cf. Y. Garlan and O. Masson, “Les acclamations pédérastiques de Kalami (Thasos),” *BCH* 106, 1982, pp. 3–22. The euthynteria of the recently found Stoa Poikile in Athens has two *kalos* inscriptions scratched on it: cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980–1982,” *Hesperia* 53, 1984 (pp. 1–57), pp. 14–15. These last two *kalos* names belong to the 5th century while those at Nemea and on Thasos are from the 4th century. For Athens, Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 98 is, I feel, a reflection of the frequency with which such acclamations were written in public places.

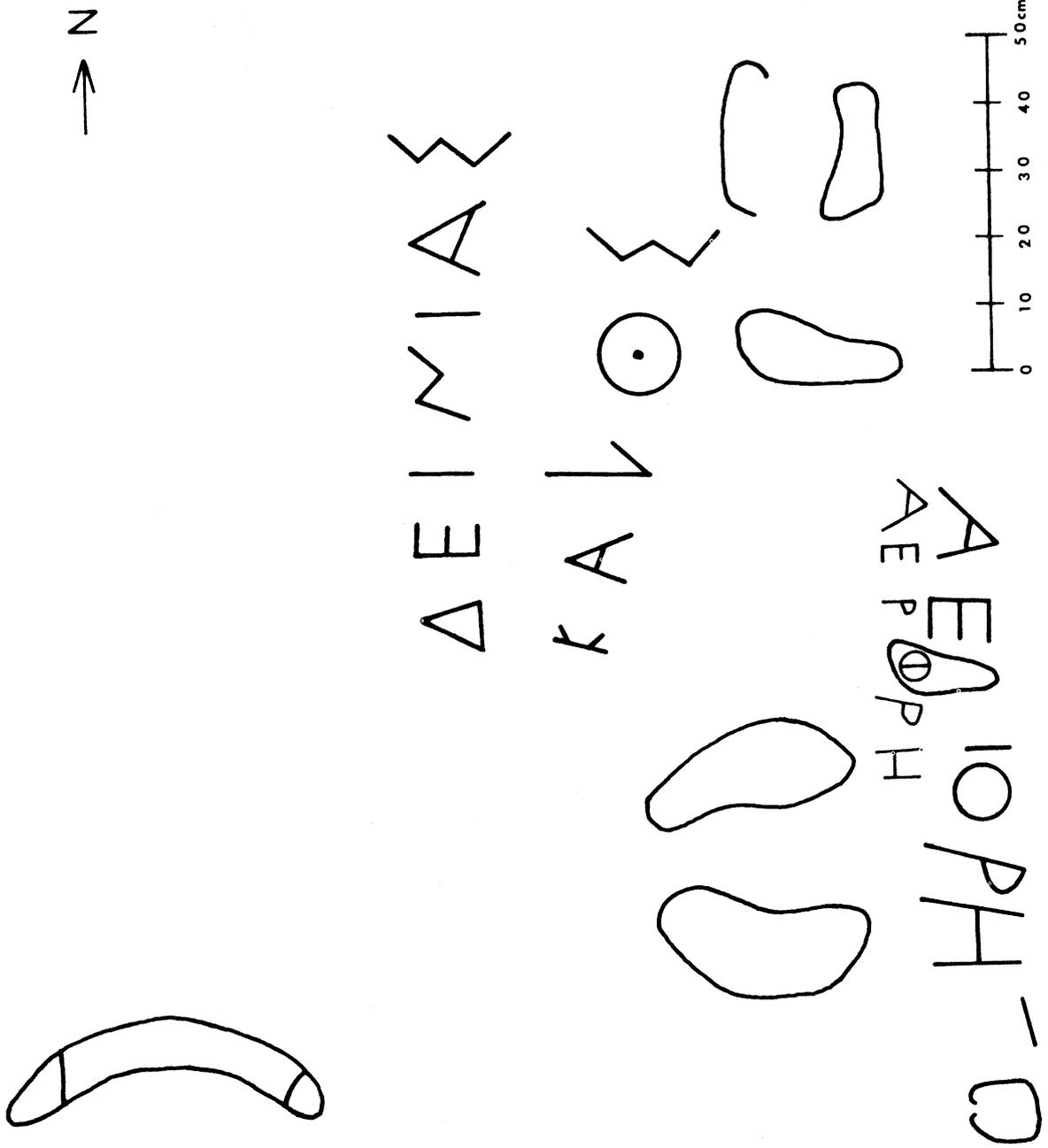


FIG. 2. Rupestral inscriptions above Argyroupolis

Both date to the Archaic period. *IG I²*, 923, on the Mouseion Hill in Athens, and 925 and 926, on marble fragments on the Athenian acropolis, are other Attic parallels. These latter three are slightly later in date than the former two. Our new *kalos* inscription postdates all these. The sigmas with widely splayed bars indicate a date in the latter part of the 5th century, a time when the alphabet of an Athenian could easily contain a mixture of Attic and Ionic letters. Prosopography offers no aid in confirming the dating because Deinias is not an uncommon name, and without his demotic it is impossible to identify him. Also, this is the first occurrence to my knowledge of the name in a *kalos* inscription.

The other name, inscribed upside down to Deinias, is more problematical to read, even though it was inscribed twice, once in large letters near the edge of the rock and again in smaller letters just below (Pl. 75:b–d). Erosion has taken its toll on both versions of the name, and a superimposed foot outline has obliterated letters in both. Initial AE are clear in both. The smaller version supplies the following rho, the corresponding letter of the larger inscription apparently being lost when the foot outline was cut. The next letter seems to be iota. The foot outline makes this somewhat unclear in both versions. Uncertainty also attaches to the circular letter next. If only the larger inscription were extant, theta would be read. But the smaller inscription shows a circular letter in this position with a vertical stroke wholly contained within it. I can see no horizontal stroke, but it could have been worn away by weathering. Theta or phi seems to have an equal chance. PH may be read as the following two letters in both. What I take to be the uppermost stroke of a sigma follows the eta of the larger version. No confirmation of this is possible from the smaller one where nothing can be read after the eta. Following the sigma is the depiction of an object. We would probably not be far wrong in dating the inscription to the same general period as the *kalos* inscription, the latter part of the 5th century.

I am uncertain about what all this gives us. I would like to see a feminine name in the genitive case followed by the depiction of the *pudenda muliebria*. The interpretation of the object is plausible enough. It looks like no letter of the Greek alphabet but does resemble, in ruder fashion, the depiction of vulvae found in various Attic sanctuaries.²² The letters, on the other hand, do not yield an acceptable name. The name Ἐρόπη comes to mind, but it does not fit the traces. I can only conclude that erosion and the cutting of the foot outline have led to some mistaken readings.

The ambiguity of the second name notwithstanding, no doubt obscures the erotic nature of the carvings on this piece of rock. The *kalos* inscription clearly sets the tone. Near it is cut a double phallus which is in line with the purported pudenda. It is impossible to tell how closely contemporary the symbols are with the names, but at least they all reflect like sentiments.

Two pair of foot outlines and two single outlines seem to be closely associated with the inscriptions. Yet in and of themselves foot outlines are not erotic in character. They are most frequently found in sanctuaries, either commemorating a safe journey or visitation by a

²² See the two from the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste illustrated in J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens*, New York 1971, p. 322, fig. 424. Others from Attica are listed in the long catalogue of anatomical ex-votos compiled by F. T. van Straten in *Faith, Hope and Worship, Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, H. S. Versnel, ed., Leiden 1981, pp. 105–143: pp. 107, 1.14; 115, 4.2; 118, 8.14 and 8.15; 121, 11.1–8.

pilgrim or serving as offerings of divine feet by votaries.²³ At other times foot outlines are commemorative without religious connotation.²⁴ It is to this latter sphere that the foot outlines on Hymettos belong, both those at Ano Elioupolis and at Argyroupolis. They are personal mementos, not of pilgrims or passers-by but of habitués who frequented selected places on the mountain. Most of the outlines do not have names inscribed with them. But while they are anonymous to us, the frequenters of the places where the outlines are grouped would know their own and those of their friends or family. If the activity of these locals turned amorous, it is not the foot outlines but the other symbols that reveal it. This, then, is the extent to which the outlines are memorial: hasty incision in bedrock of the outlines of a person's feet, sometimes so hasty that only one outline was cut, providing a remembrance which contained only local relevance in time and space. Sometimes the outlines do not even have this commemorative element. So, at Ano Elioupolis some joker engraved a pair of outlines over twice life-size (Pl. 76:a, the giant's right outline beside the author's own left foot), and at Argyroupolis someone appears to have been more intent on defacing a name than on taking advantage of a clear space of rock for cutting an outline.

Some other letter traces are visible on this rock at Argyroupolis, running crosswise to the left of *Δεινίας καλός*. At times I can persuade myself that they spell out the name Deinias again, but weathering has created furrows which interfere with the traces to such a degree that I refrain from interpreting them or including them on the drawing.

There are two other rupestral inscriptions in the area. Twenty meters southwest of the *kalos* inscription are six or more single foot outlines, a depiction of masculine genitalia, and beside them an illegible inscription (Pl. 76:b, taken from the south; the inscription and genitalia are in the left center of the photograph, oriented east-west). All are cut on the flat upper surface of a block-shaped piece of bedrock. A block bordering it to the south was removed by quarrying in antiquity, but operations were suspended, and our block was left semifashioned for removal (Pl. 76:c). In this state it was later visited by graphophiles who congregated here.²⁵

Finally, 100 meters south of the east end of the church of Ayia Eirene the letters EYΘYΔOT are cut on a small patch of bedrock in letters 10–15 centimeters high (Pl. 76:d and Fig. 3). The surface of the rock is very weathered, and consequently the letters do not

²³ The bibliography on these is large. Basic is the study by M. Guarducci, "Le impronte del 'Quo Vadis' e monumenti affini, figurati ed epigrafici," *RendPontAcc* 19, 1942–1943, pp. 305–344, summarized and with updated notes in her *Epigrafia greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 70–75. The most recent contributions to the subject are R. Arena, "Per la lettura di due iscrizioni greche arcaiche," *ZPE* 53, 1983, pp. 99–101 and B. Kötting, "Fussspuren als Zeichen göttlicher Anwesenheit," *Boreas* 6, 1983, pp. 197–201.

²⁴ Such as those drawn by ephebes at Kyzikos (F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, Cambridge 1910, p. 259) and on Paros (N. Kontoleon in *Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, X, *Archiloque*, Geneva 1964, pp. 53–54 = *SEG* XIII, 446–448). One of the rupestral pederastic inscriptions on Thera has a pair of foot outlines with it, *IG* XII 3, 553 = 3 Suppl. 1417. P. Kretschmer ("Eine theräische Felsinschrift," *Philologus* 58, 1899, pp. 467–469) opines, I believe correctly, that they are commemorative without religious or erotic meaning.

²⁵ It is possible, of course, that quarrymen who worked here cut the inscriptions and foot outlines. M. Guarducci (*Epigrafia greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 391–392) considers the inscribers of monumental *kalos* inscriptions and concludes that in most cases they ought to be seen as the products of idlers. I agree with her. The traces of quarrying at Ayia Eirene are few whereas the engravings are many, no doubt stemming from repeated visits by local inhabitants over a period of time.



FIG. 3. Rupestral inscription above Argynopolis (scale 1:10)

show up well in a photograph. Nevertheless the readings are all certain. The inscription reads from west to east with the final letters bending sharply to follow a natural linear cavity in the rock. Tau is certain as the final letter. After it is a schematized phallus, and so we probably have a personal name in the genitive case, *Εὐθυδότη(ου)*. I know of no other examples of this name in Attic prosopography. A dating in the 5th century best fits the letter forms.

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Addendum: *BSA* 79, 1984, arrived too late for me to include a citation to an article by G. R. Stanton, "Some Attic Inscriptions," pp. 289–306, in which the Roman *horoi* on Fuchsberg (above, pp. 257–260) are discussed (pp. 301–303). Stanton argues, with Lauter, that these *horoi* served as a demarcation between two demes and against Ober's hypothesis of an apiary.



Detail of Curtius and Kaupert, *Karten von Attica*, sheet IV (1:25,000 series, slightly reduced)



a. Rock with Fuchsberg *horos*



b. Close-up of Fuchsberg *horos*



c. Area of first conduit inscription



d. First conduit inscription



b. Second conduit inscription



d. Close-up of third conduit inscription



a. Area of second conduit inscription



c. Rock with third conduit inscription

MERLE K. LANGDON: HYMETTIANA I



a. Hymettos, looking south from Fuchsberg



b. Hymettos, Hill 337.4 from the south



c. *Horos* on Hill 337.4

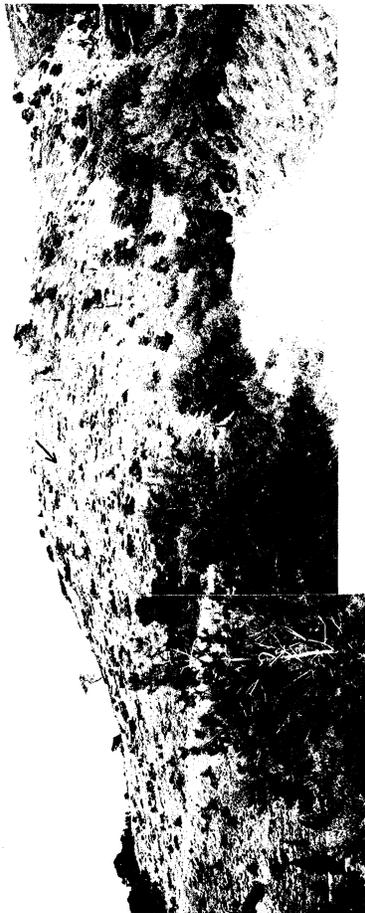


d. Partially quarried block on Hill 337.4

MERLE K. LANGDON: HYMETTIANA I



a. Hymettos, Hill 411.2 and ridge



b. Expanse of bedrock on Hill 411.2



d. *Plantae pedis* and inscription, Hill 411.2



c. *Plantae pedis* and inscription, Hill 411.2

MERLE K. LANGDON: HYMETTIANA I



a. *Horos* on Hill 411.2



b. *Plantae pedis* near the *horos* on Hill 411.2



c. West slope of Hymettos above Argyroupolis

MERLE K. LANGDON: HYMETTIANA I



a. ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ above Argyproupolis



b. Woman's name (?) above Argyproupolis



c. Left-hand part of woman's name (?)



d. Right-hand part of woman's name (?)

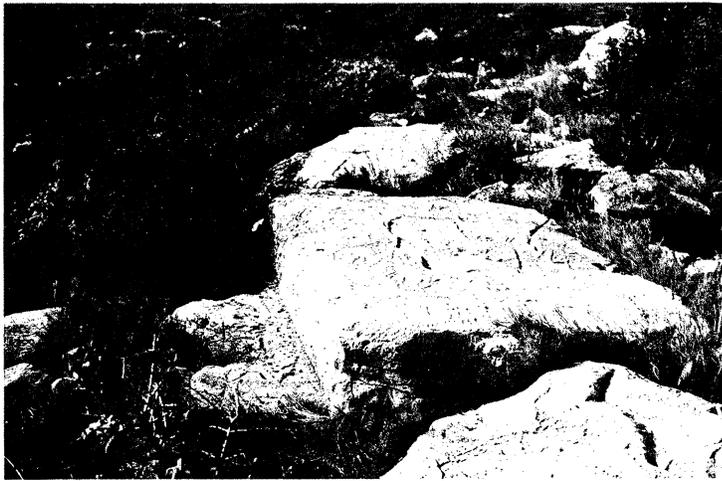
MERLE K. LANGDON: HYMETTIANA I



a. Foot outline of giant on Hill 411.2



b. *Plantae pedis* on block above Argynroupolis



c. Partially quarried block above Argynroupolis



d. ΕΥΘΥΔΟΤ above Argynroupolis